/72 cont./

538 ingenious, and industrious, sent them in an airplane all good
829 things, but that we, the Venezuelans, don't give them to them and keep them for ourselves. And thus it can be seen quite clearly that, far from thanking us for what we do give them, it is we who should be thankful and obligated because they spare our lives. /Plate appears here./ /73/

797 Another reason why the Indians sometimes are not grateful,
829 as they should be, for gifts and personal sacrifices by the missionaries, is the propaganda, already widespread, already begun by the Creoles established among them. These latter frequently try to deceive them, saying to them, for example, that the Government is sending them many things, but that we are appropriating them for ourselves.

But the truth of the case is precisely the opposite; that is, that the governmental allotments do not even cover the personal expenses of the missionaries, much less provide for making gifts to the poor Indians. In any case, they are ignorant of this; and thus, because of the ignorance of some and the envy of others, this legend of the magnificent and generous government is a twin sister of the aforesaid one of the Makunaimá; and the final result is the repellent ingratitude, only attenuated by the lack of knowledge at the bottom of things. But, however, if Creoles who know how to read and writers who know how to write, who can get their information from the Gaceta Oficial /Official Gazette/ and the annual Memoir of the Ministry of Interior Relations of the laughable quantities allotted for the missions, are ignorant or pretend to be ignorant of these things and therefore want to deny our personal sacrifices and our work for our country, is it strange that the Indians are ignorant of the truth and without blame?

431 158. It can well be said that gifts among the Indians do
● 437 not exist; everything among them is purchase-sale or lending. "If you give to those who give to you, what fun is there in it? Do the gentiles not perhaps do this?"

/73 cont./

431 123 •437 Practice has taught us not to accept any gift from them or to try to pay them back immediately with another gift; since were we to do otherwise 50 years later they would ask us for a corresponding payment. And this does not only apply to gifts offered by the natives to civilized persons, but also to those that they make among themselves. As a result the most reflective and delicate Indians (and there are such), when they are guests, try to pay back their hosts by helping them in their usual chores, bringing some game or fish, carrying firewood or water, etc. This observation has been expressly made to me by them and shows the delicacy of some of them not to be obligated and in others the fear of being recriminated for favors received completely gratis.

159. With respect to the matter under consideration, we must reiterate as very practical advice in dealing with the natives the following:

1. Not to accept any gift without the appropriate paying back of it. /74/
2. The best way to be freed of their demands, when this is a nuisance to us and we don't have any way of quieting it, is for us to ask for anything they may have.
3. When we stay among them we must lend a hand with the common loads or the expenses of food, and thus we shall be free from their recriminations.

123 437 On a certain occasion some Indians of a certain place made me a gift of some pineapples, which I immediately had peeled and divided among them themselves. Hardly had they eaten when the splendid donor came to ask me for bread; the pineapples belonged to the women and they wanted some little combs, which I didn't have. Then I divided among them all a half pound of chocolate, the pieces of which were a very good equivalent for the rings of pineapple; and as the women also ate, I asked them in payment for a yenek for carrying children. As they had not received the little combs, they

/74 cont./

123 didn't want to give me the uenek -- straps in which they carry
● 437 children across their chest --; but thus we all remained at peace.

160. Among Indians and non-Indians not all acts of fond-
123 ness are disinterested; you might almost say that it's rare to find one which is. Not all kindnesses are gratitude, either. In any case, looking at the other face of the Indians, I see myself obliged to remember many sincere demonstrations of affection; principally on trips, many services and attentions on the part of those already educated by us in the mission, as well as extraordinary diligence and they themselves taking risks and dangers in floods in the rivers and during great rainshowers and submitting themselves to getting very wet and uncomfortable in order to free us from the same problems.

000 As a salutary and ascetic piece of advice, we must remember that the Lord giveth and doth not take away. And for this reason Quevedo said that it is a sign of a great spirit and an almost divine one to give favors without expecting recompense nor thanks. And Amado Nervo also wrote: "Miserly spirts are always lamenting the ingratitude of others; in contrast, generous souls are always surprised when they are thanked."

Chapter XIX

Do The Indians Educate Their Children?

161. A question. 162. Practical teaching. 163. Oral teaching. 164. The bogeyman. 165. Punishments. 166. Marriages. 167. Rules of etiquette.

861 161. In the letter from which we take this question, we were asked expressly to deal with the correction of the /75/ children and whether their parents punish their children or not, and what type of punishments are applied to them.

285 kumara-katsa? — large, flat palm-leaf mats used as doors and, occasionally on floors.

The blowgun dart quiver and kapok carrier are also of basketwork, as are fish traps.

285 422 It is obvious that baskets are essential to the Kamarakotos and that their households require and are characterized by a large number of these of many different kinds. A household has 25 to 30 baskets, or even more, of at least ten different sorts.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Adoption of European Dress.

291 177 Most of the members of the central group and a few from outlying places now have some European clothes, but not all of them have and the costume of the tribe at present is curiously miscellaneous. If Father Ramón Bueno's Camaracotos, referred to in the introduction, are really this tribe, they had been clothed to some extent and evidently with some resistance by missionaries by 1800, but even if this is true, it is so probable as to be virtually certain that (European) clothing was completely discarded subsequent to that time. All the Kamarakotos agree that their immediate ancestors wore no European clothing, but it is interesting that most of them place the introduction of such clothing "just before my time," or "when I was a baby." Thus a man probably in his thirties guessed that European clothing was introduced about 30 years ago, and [173] an old man guessed that it was about 60 years ago. The cacique, Alejo Calcaño, gave the latter figure and said that before that the Kamarakotos wore no clothing at all (not even native) and painted themselves bright red all over — a [437] statement that one must consider thoroughly improbable.[127] There is no question that the Kamarakotos became aware of European clothing at least 25 or 30 years ago through their natural tendency to trade and to go on commercial expeditions. Ever since then some such clothing has probably been possessed occasionally by members of the tribe. Even now it cannot be said to be generally adopted or to have replaced native costume. The Angels say that in 1934 only one man in the tribe had trousers and that something less than half of the women were without dresses. Since then the several expeditions have provided them with large quantities of clothing and of cloth so that the supply is now sufficient to clothe most of the central group, but even when we left many of the men from places farthest from Uruyén and some of the women were still in native costume.[128]

The first foreign clothing to be adopted by the men is trousers. The women make for them loose shorts, reaching about to the knees, from trade goods,

127, 128 [see footnotes on p. 322, category 116 - Analysis]

[text continues on p. 48]

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Maknchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Maknchis, but probably not among Arekumas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 [34] [628] [432] Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

482 The man's carrying frame is called wayare, the same word as that used in colloquial Spanish, with the spelling "guayare," as a name for the akai? and related back-packs, but I am not sure of the linguistic relationship involved here.

Carrying nets and (true) baskets used as back-packs are not employed.

Mining

316 436 437 [177] Mining, for gold only, is an intrusive and recent element in Kamarakoto culture. There is no evidence that they use or ever have used gold for any purpose among themselves, but they have recently discovered that it can be used as a "cash crop" to obtain trade goods direct from Venezuelans, replacing balatá and a few other local products once used for that purpose. It is unlikely that gold has ever served as an object of trade or means of exchange between [135] the Kamarakotos and other Indians. The known deposits are alluvial and patchy 316 and production is sporadic. The gold is extracted in small quantities by washing by hand in a wooden pan, watea from the Spanish "batea," hewn from a [177] segment of tree trunk. This method has obviously been recently introduced under (civilized) Venezuelan influence. The gold pan has the usual Venezuelan form, a broad hollow cone, used by setting the point on the ground and tipping the rim with a rotating motion, rather than holding the pan in the arms in North American fashion or hanging it by cords attached to handles as is done in parts of Central America. In at least one case the pan was decidedly deeper than any that I saw in the civilized parts of Venezuela.

At present mining is almost insignificant in Kamarakoto culture, although it has some importance in its bearing on their contacts with the outside world.

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Fig. 74 – Kamarakoto Women Buying Cloth at Expedition Headquarters.

423 The lack of formal title to their land under the Venezuelan legal system
648 presents, for the moment, no special problem as regards land used for dwelling, farming, hunting, and fishing. There is no pressure on such land and at present no tendency by non-Kamarakotos to compete for it, although a colonization scheme such as has been suggested might suddenly present the Indians with a
316 very serious and perhaps, for them, insoluble problem. They are, however,
423 already aware of possible difficulty as regards title to the gold deposits in their
643 territory, even though the gold so far discovered has not been sufficient to
[648] cause a serious invasion of their remote region. Their reasoned attitude regarding this is to establish title to the gold deposits for the cacique. In their consideration he is not, however, a personal owner but only a custodian on behalf of the whole group, just as household property can be considered as belonging, in a rather vague but real sense, to the head of the household but is freely used by all its members. There is a rather close analogy to the crown lands of a constitutional monarchy, where title is said to belong to the king but he is in fact an owner only as he represents the state as a whole and the property is actually communal.

This communal nature of the mines that "belong" to the cacique is shown in practice by the fact that any adult male member of the tribe has the right of working the mines and that the gold found by any man becomes his personal property without any deduction of royalty, rental, or tribute. Even [illegible]er than this, if a particularly rich pocket is discovered it is customary to notify the other members of the tribe so that anyone who wishes to can share in it.

422 Movable possessions are more rigidly owned than is land and in this case
425 the ownership is usually to be considered as purely personal and not as communal even in the sense that household lands belong to the family group rather than specifically to the to?-esa? as an individual. Here the principles of ownership arising from manufacture, as between different households, and from use,
[437] as within a household, are dominant. Thus a new hammock made by a woman of a given household is the property of that household and its barter to another group may be by the maker or by the to?-esa? as representing the household, but if it is assigned to and used by a particular member of the household, it is
[437] his, or her, personal property. So, too, in barter or purchase of goods from
739 other tribes or from Venezuelans, this may be done on a purely personal basis or by the to?-esa? for his household and subsequent personal ownership is established by the individual who uses the object or material in question.

[126] In our trading with the Indians, it was noteworthy, for instance, that a basket made, of course, by a man but already in use by a woman, was not sold except with the woman's consent and that the price was generally payable to her or for her benefit. On the other hand, a new basket was sold by and for the
461 maker. In paying for labor, the women generally spent the sums due them on
465 themselves and on the young children, not for their husbands. Commonly a man
[593] would trade his labor for goods for his family rather than for himself.

685 adduced) to be sufficiently compensated by the forceable recovery of the stolen objects or of others of equal value, without any penalty. Within the central group theft must, however, necessarily be rare because it could hardly fail of
681 instant detection.[170] The wholly non-Indian punishment of imprisonment is unknown, and the Indian punishments of whipping and of biting by ants were also said not to be in use here.

673 No actions other than physical injury, trespass (particularly on fishing waters), and theft were specifically cited as criminal and of conceivable occurrence. Voluntary cohabitation among the unmarried is not criminal, or even reprehensible, and rape and adultery are claimed to be unknown (a most
[609] unlikely statement, but no other information was obtainable). It should, how-
[684] ever, be recalled that at least one non-Indian traveler is rumored to have been executed for rape or seduction, but this was generally denied, as it probably
674 would be, whether true or not. In such a culture and community most of the crimes on our statute books are nearly or quite impossible: fraud could hardly ever be successful, debts are seldom contracted and early payment could not be avoided if possible at all, and there are no taxes, licenses, or any of the other hundred and one fruitful causes of crimes and misdemeanors in more complex cultures.

858 It might be noted here also that in such cases as we saw the minor misde-
861 meanors of children were not punished in any way and such punishment was said to be neither necessary nor customary.

Trade

433 The Kamarakotos do not have and, as far as one can judge from present conditions, have never had a completely self-contained economy. It is true that they could survive and even live comfortably on the products of their own region and their own labor, but it is also true that they do not and that the ne-
[177] cessity would mean a marked change in their way of life. Nor is this true simply
439 because they now use some non-Indian materials and articles. They also re-
[487] quire various products to be obtained from other Indian tribes. It is certain that
[171] the Guiana tribes in general had well established trade routes and a far-flung system of inter-tribal trade long before white men appeared. This trade still flourishes.

● 437 All trade is by barter, in the truest sense. The parties normally exchange things that each wants for his own use at the moment, not accepting articles that serve as tokens for further exchange or that are to be kept for future use. The only advance beyond this basic type of barter is that intermediate barter is also practiced to some extent. An Indian will accept or even seek something that he himself does not want at the moment, but only if he knows that he can

170 [see footnote on p. 327 ... tegory 116 – Analyst]

437 at an early opportunity pass it on to someone who does want it in exchange for
[436] something that he himself wants.[171] Even gold cannot be considered as a monetary token from the Indian point of view. It is simply a natural product that white men want and that can be traded for things that the Indians want.

439 In strictly inter-tribal trade, the Kamarakotos are not much favored by nature or their own skill and produce little suitable for exchange beyond crude pottery and good basketry. In spite of the fact that all the tribes make baskets, they all trade them also and this without much local specialization. Thus a Kamarakoto may highly prize a Maquiritare otapa despite the fact that he is quite capable of making one himself and that the trade has not been significantly advantageous from the point of view of the labor involved. Pottery is a more obvious subject for trade because there are many households and some whole tribes that use but do not make it.

Within the last generation or two, Kamarakoto trade has been much stimulated by their activities as middlemen for non-Indian goods. For some time they gathered much balatá and they still gather some sarrapia (tonka beans) and gold. These are not objects of intertribal trade, but can be traded to Venezuelans, directly or indirectly, for non-Indian goods. To a small extent their hammocks, baskets and other articles of native manufacture and a few other wild products, such as live moriche birds, enter into the same trade. In
[177] exchange for these, knives, machetes, files, fishhooks, guns, ammunition, beads, and cloth are principally sought. The quantity of these obtainable has always been rigidly limited and their necessity has become great, but for the most essential of them, especially knives, machetes and files, the Kamarakoto market is quickly saturated since a man who has one each is equipped for years if not for life. They are thus frequently able to obtain a small surplus of such things, and any surplus is at once expended by trading with still more remote Indians, especially the Maquiritares (including the Maiongones) and their neighbors. Guns and ammunition are prized, but have not become necessities. Un-
[172] [29] til now cloth has been necessary only in very small quantities, but with the increasing feminine fashion of wearing dresses it will become a more essential article of trade. Beads are both a luxury and a necessity and it is still almost impossible for a Kamarakoto to obtain a trading surplus of them. They have commonly been obtained not direct from an outside source but through the Arekumas of the Gran Sabana.

The Indian products required by the Kamarakotos are mainly casave graters, which they could make themselves but do not; curare, which they do not know how to make and for which the raw materials are perhaps lacking in their country; and blowguns. Sometimes they import the whole blowgun, and sometimes only the inner reed, which does not grow in this region. They also import all sorts of odds and ends, baskets, paddles, etc., that they do make themselves. Dogs are also mentioned by them as desirable imports from other

171 [see footnote on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

439 Indians, but it is my impression that the trade in them is negligible. All of the things listed in this paragraph are usually obtained from the Maquiritares (Maiongones), who are the chief market of the Kamarakotos for articles of Indian consumption and the chief Indian source of imports.

439 435 171 A word of advice to future explorers in this general region may not be amiss here. A few groups of Indians, who have had most contact with traders and missionaries, know the value of coins (not bank notes) and will accept them, but most Indians still will not. The most useful articles of trade, because their value to the Indians is greatest in proportion to their bulk and because it is difficult to saturate the market, are small articles, such as fishhooks and needles, and beads. [822] Beads should be small (within reasonable limits a bead's value is in inverse proportion to its size) and should be mainly or wholly blue and white, other colors being much less prized. Trade cloth should be bright red. Other colors will be accepted, but only if red is not obtainable. The Indian understanding of the value of such articles is very definite and allows the trader a wide margin of profit but does not permit him to set his own unreasonable price. Various flashy novelties may permit enormous profits because the Indians do not know their commercial value — in British Guiana Roth was offered a cow for two finger rings worth sixteen cents, and every traveler has equal or still more impressive stories to tell — but even if the traveler has no conscience in the matter, he runs the risk of finding no market at all for his novelties.[172]

439 437 [123] Like all other rational beings, the Kamarakotos, and the Guiana Indians in general, try to buy cheaply and sell dearly and with a long tradition of trading they are unlikely to be badly worsted in dealing with articles at all familiar to them. Acting on instructions and on praiseworthy motives but contrary to my personal opinion as to wise policy, our party did not bargain with them and established an excessively high rate for their labor and their products, but this will probably prove to be temporary and future trade should return to a basis more equitable for both sides.

Magic and Religion

121 The activities and beliefs that may be classified as religious in the broadest sense are by far the most difficult to observe and to understand in studying a foreign culture. Even students who have spent years with Carib tribes do not claim full comprehension of their religious beliefs, and it is obvious that my observations can only be superficial. They do, however, suffice to show the general type and trend of such beliefs among the Kamarakotos, despite leaving many details and general problems untouched.

Indian religious systems in general (and, sometimes less clearly, all religions) can be approximately classified as, on one hand, theistic, ritualistic,

172 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 – Analysis]